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"If I were asked what ought to be done to prevent war with America, I should say: first repeal the Orders in Council; but, I am far from supposing, that that measure alone would be sufficient. Indeed, it seems to me, that the impressment of American seamen must be abandoned."
—Pol. Register, Vol. XXI. page 200. Feb. 15, 1812.

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TO THE PRINCE REGENT,

ON THE DISPUTE WITH AMERICA.

Letter VIII.

Sir,
During the time that I was imprisoned for two years in Newgate for writing about the flogging of the Local Militia, in the town of Ely, and about the employment of German Troops upon that occasion, I addressed to your Royal Highness several Letters, the object of which was *to prevent this country from being plunged into war with America*. I took great pleasure in offering to you advice, which I thought would be beneficial to my country; and, of course, I have experienced great sorrow at seeing that that advice has not been followed, and that, in consequence of its rejection, we are now actually in a state of war with our brethren across the Atlantic.

Those corrupters and blinders of the people, the hired writers, do yet attempt to make their readers believe, that we are not at war with the Republic of America. They it is, who have hastened, if not actually produced this war; for, they it was, who reviled the American President, and who caused it to be believed here, that he and the Congress *dared not go to war*. What pains, alas! have I taken to convince your Royal Highness of the folly and falsehood of these opinions! Though my mind was busied with the means of raising the thousand pounds fine to pay TO THE KING (and which you have received from me in his behalf), I let slip no occasion to caution you against believing these representations. I told you (and you might as well have believed me), that the *American* people were *something*; that *they* had a say in the measures of government; that they would not suffer themselves to be plunged into war for the gain of a set of lazy and rapacious fellows; but that, if their country's good demanded it, they would go to

war; and that such war would, in all probability, be very calamitous to England.

While I was telling you this, your late minister, Perceval, was laughing at the idea of America going to war; and his opinion was upheld by all the venal scribes in the kingdom; that is to say, by nineteen twentieths, perhaps, of all those who write in news-papers, and other political works. That we really *are at war* with America, however, the following document clearly proves. The American Congress declared war in due form; they passed an Act making war against your Royal Sire and his people; their government issued Letters of Marque and Reprisals; but, still our hirelings said that there was *no war*. The following proclamation, however, issued by an American General from his head-quarters in Canada, which province he has invaded, puts the fact of war beyond all doubt.

"By William Hull, Brigadier-General and
"Commander in Chief of the North West-
"ern Army of the United States.

"A PROCLAMATION.

"Inhabitants of Canada!—After thirty
"years of peace and prosperity, the United
"States have been driven to arms. The
"injuries and aggressions, the insults and
"indignities of Great Britain, have once
"more left them no alternative but manly
"resistance or unconditional submission.—
"The army under my command has invaded
"your country, and the standard of
"Union now waves over the territory of
"Canada. To the peaceable, unoffending
"inhabitants, it brings neither danger nor
"difficulty. I come to find enemies, not
"to make them. I come to protect, not to
"injure them.—Separated by an im-
"mense ocean and an extensive wilderness
"from Great Britain, you have no partici-
"pation in her councils, no interests in her
"conduct; you have felt her tyranny, you
"have seen her injustice; but I do not ask
"you to avenge the one or redress the
M

" other. The United States are sufficient-
 " ly powerful to afford every security con-
 " sistent with their rights and your expect-
 " tations. I tender you the invaluable
 " blessings of civil, political, and religious
 " liberty, and their necessary result, indi-
 " vidual and general prosperity. That li-
 " berty which gave decision to our councils,
 " and energy to our conduct, in a struggle
 " for independence, and which conducted
 " us safely and triumphantly through the
 " stormy period of the revolution—that li-
 " berty which has raised us to an elevated
 " rank among the nations of the world;
 " and which afforded us a greater measure
 " of peace and security, of wealth and im-
 " provement, than ever fell to the lot of
 " any country.—In the name of my
 " country, and by the authority of Govern-
 " ment, I promise you protection to your
 " persons, property, and rights. Remain
 " at your homes—pursue your peaceful
 " and customary avocations—raise not your
 " hands against your brethren. Many of
 " your fathers fought for the freedom and
 " independence we now enjoy. Being
 " children, therefore, of the same family
 " with us, and heirs to the same heritage,
 " the arrival of an army of friends must
 " be hailed by you with a cordial welcome.
 " you will be emancipated from tyranny
 " and oppression, and restored to the dig-
 " nified station of free men.—Had I any
 " doubt of eventual success, I might ask
 " your assistance, but I do not. I come
 " prepared for every contingency—I have
 " a force which will look down all opposi-
 " tion, and that force is but the van-guard
 " of a much greater. If, contrary to your
 " own interests, and the just expectation
 " of my country, you should take part
 " in the approaching contest, you will
 " be considered and treated as enemies,
 " and the horrors and calamities of war will
 " stalk before you. If the barbarous and
 " savage policy of Great Britain be pur-
 " sued, and the savages let loose to murder
 " our citizens and butcher our women and
 " children, this war will be a war of exter-
 " mination. The first stroke of the toma-
 " hawk, the first attempt with the scalp-
 " ing knife will be the signal of one indis-
 " criminate scene of desolation. No white
 " man found fighting by the side of an In-
 " dian will be taken prisoner; instant de-
 " struction will be his lot. If the dictates
 " of reason, duty, justice, and humanity,
 " cannot prevent the employment of a force
 " which respects no rights, and knows no
 " wrong, it will be prevented by a severe

" and relentless system of retaliation. I
 " doubt not your courage and firmness—
 " I will not doubt your attachment to li-
 " berty. If you tender your services vo-
 " luntarily, they will be accepted readily.
 " The United States offer you peace, liber-
 " ty, and security; your choice lies between
 " these and war—slavery and destruction.
 " Choose, then, but choose wisely; and
 " may He who knows the justice of our
 " cause, and who holds in his hand the
 " fate of nations, guide you to a result the
 " most compatible with your rights and in-
 " terests, your peace and happiness.

" By the General,

" A. P. HULL, Capt. the 13th United
 " States' Regiment of Infantry and
 " Aid-de-Camp.

" *Head-quarters, Sandwich,*
 " *July 12, 1812.*"

He, Sir, who will not believe in this,
 would not believe though one were to rise
 from the dead. This is an animating ad-
 dress, and, it is, at least, possible that it
 may prove the fore-runner of the fall of
 Canada, which, when once gone, will
 never, I believe, return to the English
 Crown.

The fact of war being now ascertained
 beyond all doubt, the next thing for us to
 think of is, the means by which we are to
 obtain peace with this new and most formi-
 dable enemy. The hired writers, unable
 any longer to keep from their readers the
 fact that war has taken place, are now af-
 fecting to treat the matter *lightly*; to make
 the people of England believe, that the
 Americans will be driven out of Canada;
 that the people of America hate the war;
 and that, at any rate, the Congress will be
 obliged to put an end to the war when the
 intelligence of the repeal of our Orders in
 Council shall arrive at the seat of the Ame-
 rican government.

These being the assertions now most in
 vogue and most generally listened to, I will
 give your Royal Highness my reasons for
 disbelieving them.

FIRST, as to the probability of the Ame-
 ricans being baffled in their designs upon
 Canada, if the contest was a contest of *man*
to man, upon ground wholly neutral, I
 should say, that the advantage might be on
 our side; but, I am not sure that it would;
 for, the Americans have given repeated
 proofs of their courage. They are, indeed,
 known to be as brave as any people in the
 world. They are, too, volunteers, *real*
 volunteers, in the service they are now

upon. The American army does not consist of a set of poor creatures, whom misery and vice have made soldiers; it does not consist of the off-casts and out-casts of the country. It consists of a band of free-men, who understand things, and who are ready to fight for what they understand; and not of a set of half-cripples; of creatures that require to be trussed up in order to prevent them from falling to pieces. It is the youth; the strong, the active, the hardy, the sound youth of America whom our army in Canada have to face; and, though I do not say, that the latter will be unable to resist them, yet I must say, that I fear they will not, when I consider, that the Americans can, with ease, pour in a force of *forty or fifty thousand men*, and when I hear it stated, that we have not above fourteen or fifteen thousand men in Canada, exclusive of the Militia, upon whom I do not know what degree of reliance is to be placed. After all, however, the question of success in the invasion of Canada, will, as in the cases of France and Holland, depend wholly upon *the people* of Canada. If they have reason to fight for their present government; if they be convinced, that a change of government would *make their lot worse*, they will, of course, rise and fight against the invaders, and then our commander may safely set General Hull at defiance; but, if the people of Canada should have been inveigled to believe, that a change of government would be for their benefit, I must confess that I should greatly doubt in our power of resistance. It will be quite useless for us to reproach the people of Canada with their want of zeal in defence of their country. We have reproached the Dutch, and the Italians, and the Hanoverians for the like; but, Sir, it answers no purpose. Such reproaches do not tend to drive out the invaders; nor do they tend to deter other nations from following the example of the invaded party. What a *whole nation* wills must, sooner or later, take place.

As to the *SECOND* assertion, that the people of America hate the war, I must say, that I have seen no proof of such hatred. The Americans, being a reflecting people and a people resolutely bent upon preserving their freedom, have a *general* hatred of war, as being, generally speaking, hostile to that freedom. But, in the choice of evils, if war should appear the least evil, they will not fail to take it; and, indeed, they *have taken it*; for, in America, it is really the people who declare war; the

Congress is the *real* representative of the people; there are no sham elections; no buyings and sellings of votes and of false oaths; but the members are the unbought, uncorrupted, unenslaved agents of the people, and, if they cease to speak the sentiments of those who elect them, they are put out of the Congress at the end of a very few months. It is, therefore, not only false, but stupid, to affect to believe that the war is *unpopular*, and that the *government* is odious in the eyes of the people. The whole of the government is of the people. All its members are chosen by them; and, if it ceased to please them, it would soon cease to exist. Nothing, therefore, can be so absurd as to suppose that a measure so important as that of war has been adopted *against the will of the people*.

This opinion has been attempted to be sustained upon the evidence of a riot at Baltimore, the object of which was the silencing of a news-paper, and the end of which was bloodshed on both sides. But, from this fact the exactly contrary conclusion ought to be drawn. The news-paper in question was, it appears, *hostile to the war*; and, therefore, a riot, in order to silence such paper, cannot be considered as a proof of *unpopularity* attached to the war. The truth appears to have been, that the editor of the paper was pretty notorious as being bribed to put forth what gave so much offence to the people, who were, upon this particular occasion, unable to imitate the tolerant conduct of their government. It was, however, very wrong to assail the corrupt tool by force. He should have been left to himself; for, though this species of attack upon the liberty of the press is far less injurious to that liberty than the base attacks, dictated by despotism, and masked under the visor of forms dear to freedom; still it is an *attack*; it is answering statements or arguments by violence; by something other than statement and argument. Therefore, I disapprove of the attack; but I cannot consider it as a mark of the unpopularity of the war, of the precise contrary of which it is, indeed, a very bad proof.

Much having, in our hired news-papers, been said of this riot; it having been represented as a proof of bad government in America, and (which is more to my present purpose) as a sign of *approaching anarchy*, tending to the overthrow of that government which has declared war against us, I must trespass a little further upon this head, to beg your Royal Highness to believe nothing that the hired men say upon

the subject. When the war with France began in 1793; that war which appears not to promise any end; when that war began, many riots took place in England against those who were opposed to the war; many houses were destroyed; many printing-offices demolished; many booksellers put to flight; many men were totally ruined, and that, too, by mobs marching and burning and killing under banners on which were inscribed "CHURCH AND KING." Now, as there was not a general anarchy to follow these things in England, I beg your Royal Highness not to be persuaded to believe, that anarchy will follow the demolishing of a printing-office in the United States of America, where there are more news-papers than there are in all Europe, this country included. Once more, however, I express my disapprobation, and even my abhorrence, of that demolition; which was the less excusable, as the assailants had freedom, *real* freedom of the press, to answer any thing which the bribed printer might publish, and even to publish an account of his bribery. Such, however, appears to have been the popular feeling *in favour of the war*, that no consideration was of sufficient weight to restrain the resentment of the people against a man who was daily declaiming against that measure.

If we conclude, as, I think, we must, that the people of America were in favour of the war at the time when it was declared, the next thing to be considered is, what effect the intelligence of the repeal of our Orders in Council will have in America. The question is, in short, whether that intelligence will make such a change in the sentiments of the people of America *as to produce peace*. I think it will not. There are some persons in England who seem to believe, that the receipt of that intelligence will, at once, put an end to the war; for, they do not appear to consider any *treaty* necessary to the restoration of peace with America.

Not only must there be a *negociation* and a *treaty*, or *convention*, before there can be peace, or even a suspension of arms; but, I am of opinion, that no such treaty or convention will be made without more being done by us than *merely the repealing of our Orders in Council*, which removes but a part, and not, by any means, the greatest part, of the grievances of which the Americans complain. So long ago as the month of February last, as will be seen by my motto, I expressed to your Royal

Highness my opinion, that the mere repeal of the Orders in Council would not satisfy the people of America. It was, therefore, with no small degree of surprise, that I saw (from the reports in the news-papers), that Mr. Brougham *had pledged himself to support the ministers in a war against America, if she should not be satisfied with their measure of repeal*. I was surprised at this, because Mr. Brougham must have seen, that she complained of the *impression of her seamen*, and of divers other things, which she deemed to be injuries. Besides, did Mr. Brougham imagine, that our two years' nearly of refusal to repeal were to go off without any thing done by us in the way of compensation? The history of the transaction is this: The American President announces in 1810, that, unless we repeal our Orders by a certain day, in the same way that France had done, a certain law shall go into force against us. We do not comply; we continue in what he calls a violation of his country's rights for a year and a half after the time appointed for repealing; at the end of that time an inquiry takes place in parliament, and two volumes are published, containing evidence of the ruinous consequences *to us* of the measure which America has adopted. *Thereupon* we repeal. But, Sir, Mr. Brougham can hardly want to be told, that America has made *no promise to be satisfied* with any repeal which should take place *after* her act should go into effect. Indeed, she has never made any such promise; nor was it to be supposed, that, when she saw that her measure of exclusion was ruining us, she would be content with our merely doing that which was calculated to *save ourselves*. This, in fact, is our language to her: we refused to repeal our Orders till we found that the not repealing of them was *injurious to ourselves*, and, therefore, we now repeal them, and, in consequence, call upon you *to act as if we had never refused*.

This, Sir, is what no nation can be supposed to listen to. We do what America deems an injury; we do what she says is sufficient to justify her in declaring war against us. And, after a while, we desist; but notoriously because proof has been produced that *perseverance is injurious to ourselves*. In the meanwhile she declares war to compel us to do that which we have done before we hear of her declaration. And, under these circumstances, can we expect her to disarm, until she has obtained something like *indemnification* for

the injuries which she alleges she has sustained? If, there were in existence no ground of dispute other than that of the Orders in Council, it appears to me, that America could (especially with our parliamentary evidence before her) never think of peace without a *compensation for the vessels seized* illegally, as she says, under the Orders in Council. Otherwise she tells the world, that she may be always injured with impunity; because, the utmost that any nation has to apprehend from her hostility is to be compelled to *cease* to violate her rights. Upon this principle she may be exposed to a like attack the next day after she has made peace. Either, therefore, she complains without cause; or, the mere repeal of our Orders in Council ought not to satisfy her.

Besides, Sir, it appears to me, that, even supposing that there were no other ground for the war, on her part, than the existence of our Orders in Council, she is bound, in fairness towards the Emperor Napoleon, to obtain some kind of compensation for what she has suffered from the execution of our Orders in Council after the time that he repealed his decrees. If she make peace with us, and place us upon the same footing with France, without obtaining such compensation, he will assuredly allege partiality against her, since she will have suffered us to continue to do with impunity, for a year and a half, that which she made him cease to do. It was, therefore, I repeat it, matter of great surprise with me, that Mr. Brougham should have given the pledge above-mentioned: though I hope your Royal Highness will be advised better than to pursue measures that shall put him to the test.

Compensation for the property seized under our Orders in Council will, I think, be demanded; and, if the Orders be recognized as a violation of the rights of America, I do not see upon what ground such compensation could be objected to; but, Sir, as far as relates to ourselves, I trust, that the means of making such compensation would not be demanded of *the people*, but would be taken from those who have received the amount of the property seized. With this, however, America has nothing to do: she can only demand compensation; but, she may extend that demand to the amount of her expenses in fitting out ships of war and in raising and sending forth an army. "*Indemnity for the past and security for the future*" is, Sir, a phrase not unknown amongst

the statesmen who adorn, and who have adorned your and your royal Sire's court; and, I do not know of any maxim in public law, or in diplomacy, that forbids a republic any more than a monarchy to make such a demand. If we do allow that America has just cause of complaint, we cannot well refuse her indemnity at least; if we do not allow that she has just cause of complaint, we do wrong, we act a base and cowardly part, if we desist from doing that which she complains of.

Upon what ground it is, then, that Mr. Brougham expects an immediate cessation of hostilities on the part of America I am at a loss to discover. I am at a loss to discover upon what ground it is that he has made his pledge, or, at least, the pledge which has been attributed to him. Either he must look upon the Orders in Council as the sole ground of the American declaration of war, or he must suppose there to be other grounds. If he looks upon them as the sole ground, he must, I think, suppose that America will not lay down her arms without obtaining indemnity for such heavy losses as those Orders have occasioned her; and, if he looks upon the declaration as having been partly produced by *other subjects* of complaint, he must necessarily suppose, that an adjustment as to those grounds of complaint must precede a cessation of hostilities.

Whatever pledges may have been given by any persons, it is for your Royal Highness to lend an ear to the voice of reason; and, I am greatly deceived if that voice will not recommend to you an expression, as speedily as possible, of your readiness to cause the officers of the fleet to cease to impress any persons out of American ships. This, as I have before had the honour to assure your Royal Highness, is the complaint which has, at last, in reality, produced the war between us and our American brethren. There have been many subjects of difference; many grounds of quarrel, but this is what finds its way to the hearts of the American people. They would, I verily believe, have endured all but this; this, however, I knew they would not endure, and I told your ministers and the public so long ago. If I am asked whether I think, that the ceasing to impress people on board of American ships would cause many of our sailors to desert, I answer, that *I do not know*; but, that I do not see *why it should*? I do not see why Englishmen should like the American service better than our own. And, really, I

must say, Sir, that I think, that to entertain any such apprehension squares not well with the tenor of our national songs about the valour and patriotism of our "*tars*." I think it exceedingly humiliating to us to suffer it to be said, or to act as if we said, that we must retain the power of impressment, or personal seizure, on board American ships out at sea, for fear the giving up of that power should cause our fleet to be deserted. Sir, I am one of those who love to believe, that English seamen do not want *force* to induce them to fight for their country. It is, in my eyes, a most mortifying thing to proclaim to the world, that we are likely to have war with America, and that we appear to prefer war with America to the giving up of the means of detecting and seizing English sailors, deserters from the King's service. This so badly comports with all our assertions respecting the *freedom* we enjoy, and also respecting our devotion to our King and our glorious constitution; for, it appears to me, that, if the world believe in the *necessity* of this power of impressment, it must think either that our boastings of our blessed state are untrue, or, that our sailors are not the most wise or the most loyal set of men. I am for wiping off this stigma; and, without crying or fainting away, as Sir Vicary Gibbs is reported to have done at Horsemonger Lane, I am for showing the Yankees and the whole world, that we want no terror to keep our seamen to their duty; that we are not afraid of their skulking from our fleet to take refuge in American ships; that we entertain not the disgraceful apprehension, that those who have once had the honour to sail under the *royal* flag of the House of Hanover will ever prefer that of the American or any other *republic*.

Honour, Sir, as well as policy seem to me to dictate the giving up of this power; and, as the giving of it up might, and, as I think, would cause the restoration of peace between England and America, I will not be persuaded that such a measure does not accord with the wishes of your Royal Highness.

As to "*the exhausting of the resources of America*," which now begins to be talked off by that most corrupt of newspapers, the *Times*, I do most earnestly beseech your Royal Highness to bear in mind how long the late *Pitt* promised this deluded nation that he would *exhaust the resources of republican France!* Sir, Mr. Madison, though a very plain-dressed,

sleek-headed man; though he wears neither tails, nor bags, nor big wigs, nor robes; though he dresses in a pepper-and-salt coat and a nice dimity waistcoat, knows a great deal more of our real situation than I believe many of your ministers know of it; and, I should not wonder if he knew almost as much of it as your Royal Highness's self does. He is a man, Sir, who is not to be led by our hireling prints; he sees our gold at above *five pounds an ounce*; he has seen acts passed which, in effect, force the circulation of our Bank notes; and, seeing this, he does not want any body to tell him what is coming; seeing this he will laugh at the idea of our exhausting the resources of America, the capital of whose whole debt does not amount to a tenth part of one half year's interest upon our debt. This ground of hope is, Sir, more visionary than any other. Indeed, they are all equally visionary. There is no hope of any thing but loss and injury to us by a war with America.

I have now done all that I am able to prevent this calamity. If the war proceed, I shall say as little about it as circumstances will permit. I have lost no occasion of endeavouring to put aside this evil; and, when the result of the contest shall be lamented; when those who now rejoice at the idea of doing mischief to free men, shall be weeping over their folly, I trust that your Royal Highness will have the justice to remember, that this war had always a decided opponent in your faithful servant,

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, 15th September, 1812.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

PAPER AGAINST GOLD.—By the last *price current* I see that the *Gold Coin* is now £5. 8s. the ounce in Bank notes. Of course a real guinea will sell for about £1. 10s. The following article from the *Morning Chronicle* of the 15th instant contains very curious matter upon this subject.

"The scarcity of money becomes every day more and more inconvenient. Persons, evidently agents, with great powers of drawing on London Bankers, have opened accounts with Country Bankers, for the purpose of getting their local notes; and with these they go into shops, fairs, and even Farmers' houses, to buy up guineas, as well as silver. They pay for them in these country bank notes,

“which they may do lawfully, and thus
 “the specie is collected from every part of
 “the kingdom. It is suspected that these
 “agents, unknown even to themselves,
 “are employed by THE HIGHEST AU-
 “THORITY.—This is the natural con-
 “sequence of the system which has been
 “pursued; and the consequence already
 “is, that every pound sterling which we
 “have to pay even to our own troops
 “abroad, costs us thirty shillings. Our
 “army, however, must be paid, and we
 “are so far involved that we must go on.
 “As soon as Parliament meets, which,
 “whether there is a general Election or
 “not, must be before Christmas, some
 “strong measure must be adopted for the
 “supply of specie. There is an idea of
 “calling in, and paying in *Bank notes for*
 “*all the plate in the Kingdom.* But that
 “would obviously afford no relief—since if
 “the price of bullion is the cause of the
 “disappearance of specie now, it would
 “equally disappear then; and the quantity
 “of plate in the Island is not great.”—

This cannot be true; or, at least, I think
 it impossible that any persons intrusted
 with any power above that of a ticket porter,
 should entertain the notions here ascribed
 to the “*highest authority.*”—But, as to
 the state of the finances of the country,
 there is no exaggeration there. This part
 of our public concerns is fast drawing to a
 crisis. When a guinea is worth 30s. men
 ought to look about them.—This, though
 the natural consequence of war, and though
 the thing must be made more and more
 desperate by the continuance of war, *is one*
of the grand impediments to peace. It
 was, indeed, one of the *real* causes of this
 present war. The paper is in such a state
 that it cannot support itself against the
 effects of a free intercourse with France.

—I do not see any reason to suppose,
 that the depreciation will not proceed as
 rapidly as it has done for two years last
 past. It began to be sensibly felt and
clearly understood very soon after I was
 shut up in Newgate, for the cause mention-
 ed in the last page of this Register. The
 matter was then made so very plain, that
 those began to see who had been blind all
 the days of their lives. So that, there
 was, at any rate, one good that resulted
 from my suffering. I made clowns able
 financiers; or, at least, as able as Pitt and
 his set, if not a little more so.—To re-
 turn to the matter before us; the *buying up*
of the plate would be nonsense. It would
 disappear the moment it got into circu-

lation. Real gold and silver will not keep
 company with our paper, unless one is to
 be bought and sold with the other, and
 then each will fetch its real value.—The
Local Token bill must be repealed before
 it goes into operation, or there must be a
 great issue of tokens some where to supply
 the place of those now in circulation; for,
 otherwise no trade can possibly be carried
 on.—Were it not for the *national debt*
 all would be easily settled; but, indeed,
it is that Debt which has made all the paper.
 They began together, and together they will
 live as long as they can.—What will be
 done about the *pay* of the *Judges, &c. &c.*
 who have fixed annual, or daily, sums, I
 hardly know; for, if the gold should get
 to about £7. 14s. an ounce, a one pound
 note will be worth only half as much
 as it used to be; and yet, times will not
 be very favourable to the *raising* of the
 pay of any of the people in public employ-
 ment.—When people talk of *dearness*,
 they forget how the paper has *fallen* in
 value. If a guinea be worth 30s. a load
 of wheat which sells for £30. does, in
 fact, sell for only about £20., and so on
 as to other things.—Hume foretold ex-
 actly what is now taking place; and I
 would advise the ministers to read his
 book. They will derive much more profit
 from him than from the *Morning Chro-
 nicle*, who now complains of *our system*.
 Alas! Mr. Perry, it is too late to recover
 things. Pitt decided its fate. It may be
 made to go on a little faster or a little
 slower; but its end will be the same; and
 all that is worth talking about is, what are
 the *consequences* that it will produce as to
 the liberty and independence of the na-
 tion. This is indeed a question worthy of
 being discussed by men of real wisdom;
 but the Prince Regent will, I am afraid,
 look about him in vain for many men of
 that description. If there were a man in
 power endued with profound insight as to
 this subject; a man capable of foreseeing
 what would happen and of providing ac-
 cordingly, he would have in his hands
 more power to do good than ever before
 fell to the lot of a human being.—One
 thing is certain, that every man in the
 country thinks that *some great change is at*
hand. Every man thinks this, except
 those men who never think beyond their
 own particular interests, and who occupy
 in the creation a rank little superior to that
 of the badger or the otter. Of men who
 do think, who have minds, and who ex-
 tend their wishes to the well-being of

others; who have some sentiment of honour, who know what *freedom* and what *country* mean; of such men there is not one, who does not expect to see some great event in England; but, no one has an *opinion* as to what it is to be. It is truly curious to observe with what eagerness those who still adhere to the name of Pitt get rid of every topic connected with the paper-money. They are *afraid to think on the subject*. But, their avoiding it will not prevent what is to happen.—The *remedy* of which I possess the knowledge would do much; but, I do not flatter myself that it will ever be called for in a way that shall induce me to divulge it.

WM. COBBETT.

Bolley, 16th September, 1812.

LORD YARMOUTH'S LETTER

To the Editor of the Courier.

SIR—Your Paper of yesterday, which I have just seen on my return from Windsor, contains, under the head Foreign News, this extract from the *Gazette de France*, asserting as impudent and scandalous a falsehood as any that ever disgraced the press:—"Lord YARMOUTH, and his worthy imitators, obtained their liberty under the guarantee of their parole. In violating that guarantee, they have offended the delicate sentiment of honour. Lord Yarmouth was the first to set an example, so much the more fatal, as its author is of the most elevated rank."—I have always avowed, both at Verdun and at home, my opinion, that the detention of the English in 1803, however cruel, by its being a measure never resorted to on former occasions, was justified by the seizure of French property and French subjects in British ports, before our Ambassador had ceased to exercise the functions of his high office at Paris. This opinion left me no pretext, however miserable, for the breach of a parole of honour. Since, however, a charge of its violation has been brought forward in the French papers, and repeated with various comments in the English, I am compelled to clear myself, which I shall do in a few words, premising, that I can support my assertion by the original passports signed by the French Minister.—In May 1803 the English in France were declared prisoners of war, and as such gave their parole of honour.—For several months I and many others were permitted to reside

wherever we pleased, till the cruel disregard of some English Gentlemen to the comforts of their fellow-prisoners, occasioned our being confined in fortresses on their effecting their escape.—I had passed more than two years in the fortress of Verdun, when I learnt that Mr. Fox had, at the command of the Prince of Wales, to whose gracious interference I am proud to owe my liberation from captivity, applied for and obtained my return to England on parole of honour, to go back to France whenever my return should be demanded. A similar parole was signed by the Earl of Elgin and General Abercromby, and we sailed together from Morlaix in May, 1806. Upon my being sent back to Paris, almost immediately afterwards, by Mr. Fox, I demanded and obtained my release from this parole, as a necessary preliminary to my being under the protection afforded by the Law of Nations to diplomatic Agents.—Since it has thus become necessary for me to recur to the year 1806, I take this opportunity of adding to the papers, then published, the instructions accompanying Mr. Fox's dispatch of the 18th July. These instructions I owe it to myself to publish in refutation of the charge once advanced, and now revived, of having, contrary to the tenor of my instructions, produced His Majesty's full powers at a time when (22d July) no choice remained but to do so or break off the negociation. It will, of course, be remembered, that M. D'Oubril had then concluded a treaty, and that he used all the weight belonging to the Minister of so great a friendly power, to obtain an official character to be attached to the British negociation. No obloquy could induce me, for obvious reasons, to make this document public in 1806-7; it is now harmless, and I have a right to add it to the official papers of that year.—The story of M. de Clermont and the snuff-box, in 1811, is private, and of no moment, nor should I notice it, but that the pen is in my hand. It is entirely unfounded, never having received that or any other mark of the French Emperor's recollection or approbation, then or at any other time.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient humble servant,

YARMOUTH.

London, 13th August, 1812.

P. S. It is usual to direct one's letter to some friend who will give it publicity; I have taken a shorter course, that of sending it to the press in the first instance.



Instructions accompanying Mr. Fox's Dispatch of July 18.

"ON ONE HAND.

"The cession of Sicily is intolerable, because the retaining it was proposed to us as an inducement for relinquishing our favourite mode of negociation: if it be ceded, the following difficulties will besides occur:—

"First, where to find an equivalent:—an equivalent for a possession we can keep, in spite of the French, ought to be of the same nature likewise. How can this apply to Dalmatia, or other places that have been mentioned? Nay, even strictly, to the ex-Venetian territories, where even there seems to be little chance of obtaining?

"Secondly,—It is not possible to surrender to the enemy the only remaining portion of the King of Naples' dominions, without obtaining some adequate, or nearly adequate, compensation for that Prince.—Such an application of the Hans Towns appears absurd upon the face of it; and till further explanation shall have been made, one can hardly conceive any country upon the Adriatic where the said Prince can be in any degree of security.

"Thirdly,—The distance of Malta from any friendly country, and consequently from any certain source of supply, may render the possession of that island to us extremely difficult, at least, if not precarious.

"Under these circumstances I am of opinion that, at any rate, time ought to be gained, and that our endeavour ought to be, if possible, to make some arrangement, which, though exceptionable, might obtain to us the two grand points—*Hanover*, and the preservation of our Russian connexion.—N. B. Corsica, Sardinia, Majorca, and Minorca, might all, or any of them, be useful in producing such an arrangement."

(Sent July 16, 1806, with the Dispatch.

"ON THE OTHER HAND.

"The allowing the French to recede from their original basis, so far as to substitute an exchange in the case of Sicily, may become less objectionable, if such a change be at the declared desire of Russia, and should lead to an arrangement more suitable to the views of that power. In such case, provided compensation be made to the King of Naples, we shall have given up well-understood English objects for what we deem to be ill-understood Russian objects; but in cases of confederacy, there is nothing to be ashamed of in such a transaction. If we hold out, it is probable Russia will make a separate peace, by which means we shall soon find ourselves completely destitute of all continental connexion or influence whatever. Hanover will remain in the power of the enemy, probably guaranteed to Prussia, and we can have no possible means of recovering a possession so essential to the honour of the King and nation, than by conquering some part of the world which France would accept as an equivalent for the Electorate. Of this I can see no prospect, and should therefore consider all hope of honourable peace as put off for ever.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

The Provisional Commissioners of the Government of the Duchy of Lithuania to the Clergy of the Diocese of Wilna.

(Continued from page 350.)

provisional Government of Lithuania, in order to consecrate this great reunion, had resolved to give a portion of one thousand francs to a Lithuanian girl who should marry a man born in the Greater Poland, and a second gift of one thousand francs to a Pole who should marry a Lithuanian girl. By chance it occurred that the first couple immediately presented themselves and received the nuptial benediction.—In the evening the city was magnificently illuminated.—The National Theatre was thrown open gratis. The piece entitled *The Cracovians* was played. The festival closed with a ball, of which Count Pac, a Lithuanian, did the honours. The transparencies were beautiful, and the inscriptions very ingenious. Several French and Polish Generals were present at the ball, which was also honoured by the presence of His Majesty the Emperor and King.—This same Gazette (the *Lithuanian Courier*) announces, this day, the refusal of the Grand Seignior to ratify the treaty of peace concluded at Bucharest, between the Russian and Turkish Plenipotentiaries.—His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon was still at Wilna on the 15th. He enjoys the best possible health.

Seventh Bulletin of the Grand Army.—Wilna, July 16.

His Majesty has erected upon the right bank of the Vilia an intrenched camp, surrounded by redoubts; and constructed a citadel upon the mountain on which was the ancient palace of Jagillons. Thus, two bridges upon piles are being constructed. Three bridges upon rafts are already established.—On the 8th His Majesty reviewed a part of his guard, composed of Laborde and Roguet's divisions, commanded by Marshal the Duke of Treviso, and the old guard under the orders of Marshal the Duke of Dantzic, in front of the intrenched camp. The fine appearance of these troops excited general admiration.—On the 4th, Marshal, the Duke of Tarentum, set out from his head-quarters in Rossien, the capital of Samogitia, one of the handsomest and most fertile provinces in Poland; the General of Brigade, Baron Ricard, with a part of the 7th division, to march upon Poniewitz;

the Prussian General Kleist had been sent upon Chawle; and the Prussian Brigadier de Jeannerel, with another Prussian brigade, upon Tilch. These three Generals have arrived at their destinations. Gen. Kleist was only able to reach a single Russian Hussar; the enemy having hastily evacuated Chawle, after setting the magazines on fire.—General Ricard arrived early in the morning of the 6th at Poniewicz. He had the good fortune of saving the magazines which were in it, and which contained 30,000 quintals of meal. He took 160 prisoners, among which were four officers. This expedition does the greatest honour to the detachment of the Prussian Death Hussars, who were charged with the execution of it. His Majesty has bestowed the Legion of Honour on the Commandant of it, to Lieut. De Reven, to Sub-officers Werner and Pommeroit, and Brigadier Grahouski, who in this affair distinguished themselves.—The inhabitants of the Province of Samogitia are distinguished for their patriotism; they were free, their country was rich, but their destinies changed with the fall of Poland. The better and finest parts of the country were given by Catherine to Soubow: the peasants, free as they were, were compelled to become slaves. The flank movement made by the army upon Wilna having turned this fine Province, it will be of the utmost utility to the army. Two thousand horses are on their march to repair the loss of the artillery. Considerable magazines have been preserved. The march of the army from Kowno upon Wilna, and from Wilna upon Dunabourg and Minsk, has obliged the enemy to abandon the Banks of the Niemen, and rendered this river free, by which numerous convoys arrive at Kowno.—We have at this moment more than 150,000 quintals of meal, 2,000,000 rations of biscuit, 600,000 quintals of rice, &c. The convoys succeed each other with rapidity; the Niemen is covered with boats.—The passage of the Niemen took place on the 24th, and the Emperor entered Wilna on the 28th. The 1st army of the west, commanded by the Emperor Alexander, is composed of 9 divisions of infantry, and 4 of cavalry: driven from post to post, it now occupies the intrenched camp at Drissa, in which the King of Naples, with the corps of Marshal Dukes of Elschingen and Reggio, several divisions of the 1st corps, and the cavalry corps of Counts Nansouty and Montbrun, keep it. The 2d army, com-

manded by Prince Bagration, was on the 1st of July at Kobren, where it had collected. The 9th and 13th divisions, under General Tormazow, were still further off. On the first intelligence of the passage of the Niemen, Bagration put himself in motion to march upon Wilna; he effected his junction with Platoff's Cossacks, who were opposite Grodno. Arrived upon the top of the Ivie, he learned that the road to Wilna was shut against him: he discovered that the execution of the orders he had received would be rash, and cause his ruin, Soubotnicki, Trobone, Witchnew, Volojinck being occupied by General Grouch's, General Baron Pagol, and the Prince of Eckmuhl's corps; he therefore retrograded, and took the direction of Minsk: but, arrived mid-way towards that town, he learned that the Prince of Eckmuhl had entered it; he again retrograded: from Newig he marched upon Slousk, and from thence upon Bobreusk, from whence he will have no other resource than that of crossing the Borysthenes. Thus the two armies are completely divided and separated, there being between them a distance of an hundred leagues. Prince Eckmuhl has seized upon the strong place of Boreson, upon the Beresina: 60,000 lbs. of powder, 16 pieces of besieging artillery, and some hospitals, have fallen into his power. Considerable magazines were set on fire; a part was, however, saved.—On the 10th, General Latour Maubourg sent the division of light cavalry, commanded by General Rosmeke, advanced towards Mer. It met the enemy's rear-guard at a short distance from that town. A very brisk engagement took place. Notwithstanding the inferiority of the Polish division in number, it remained master of the field. The General of Cossacks, Gregoriow, was killed, and 1,500 Russians were killed and wounded. Our loss, at the utmost, was not more than 500. The Polish light cavalry fought with the greatest intrepidity, and its courage supplied the want of number. The same day we entered Mer.—On the 13th the King of Westphalia had his headquarters at Nisvy.—The Viceroy has arrived at Dockchilsoui.—The Bavarians, commanded by General Count G. St. Cyr, were reviewed on the 14th at Wilna, by the Emperor. Deroy and Wrede's divisions were very fine. These troops have marched on Slouboku.—The Diet at Warsaw, being constituted into a general Confederation of Poland, has named Prince Adam Czartorinski for its President. This

Prince, aged 80 years, has for 50 years been Marshal of the Diet of Poland. The first act of the Diet was to declare the kingdom of Poland re-established. A deputation from the confederation was presented to His Majesty at Wilna, and submitted to his approbation and protection the Act of Confederation.—To the Act of Confederation, His Majesty replied as follows:—Gentlemen Deputies of the Confederation of Poland,—I have heard with interest what you have related to me.—Poles! I would have thought and acted like you; like you I would have voted in the Assembly at Warsaw. Love of the country is the first duty of civilized man.—In my situation I have many interests to conciliate, and many duties to perform. Had I reigned during the 1st, 2d, or 3d partition of Poland, I would have armed all my people to support you. Immediately that victory enabled me to restore your ancient laws to your Capital, and a part of your Provinces, I did it without prolonging a war which would have continued to spill the blood of my subjects.—I love your nation. For sixteen years I have seen your soldiers by my side, in the fields of Italy, as well as those of Spain.—I applaud all you have done; I authorize the efforts you wish to make: I will do every thing that depends on me to second your resolutions.—If your efforts are unanimous, you may conceive the hope of reducing your enemies to acknowledge your rights; but in these countries, so distant and extensive, it is entirely upon the unanimity of the efforts of the population which covers them, that you must found your hopes of success.—I have held to you the same language since my first appearance in Poland: I must add here, that I have guaranteed to the Emperor of Austria the integrity of his dominions; and that I cannot sanction any manœuvre, or any movement, which may tend to trouble the peaceable possession of what remains to him of the Polish Provinces. Let Lithuania, Samogitia, Wetespsk, Polosk, Mohilow, Volhynia, the Ukraine, Podolia, be animated with the same spirit which I have seen in Great Poland, and Providence will crown with success your holy cause: He will recompense that devotion to your country which has rendered you so interesting and acquired you so many claims to my esteem and protection, upon which you may depend under every circumstance.

*Eighth Bulletin of the Grand Army,
Gloubokoe, July 22.*

The corps of Prince Bagration is composed of four divisions of infantry, from 22 to 24,000 men strong, of Platow's Cossacks, forming 6,000 horse, and from 4 to 5,000 cavalry. Two divisions of his corps (the 9th and 15th) wished to rejoin him by Pinsk; they were intercepted, and obliged to return by Wolhynie.—On the 14th General Latour Maubourg, who follows the rear-guard of Bagration, was at Romanoff. On the 16th Prince Poritawowski had his head-quarters there.—In the affair of the 10th, which took place at Romanoff, the General Rozniecki, commanding the light cavalry of the four cavalry corps, has lost 600 men killed, wounded, or made prisoners. We have no superior officer to regret. General Rozeniecki states, that the bodies of Count Pahlen, General of Division, and the Russian Colonels Adrenow and Jesowayski have been recognized on the field of battle.—The Prince of Schwartzenberg had his head-quarters on the 13th at Prazana. On the 11th and 12th he occupied the important position of Cinsk, with a detachment which took some men, and considerable magazines. Twelve Austrian husars charged forty-six Cossacks, pursued them during several leagues, and took six of them. The Prince of Schwartzenberg marches on Minsk.—General Regnier returned on the 19th to Slonim, to guarantee the Duchy of Warsaw from an incursion, and to observe the two divisions of the army which had re-entered Wolhynia.—On the 12th, General Baron Pajol, who was at Ighouman, sent Captain Vandois, with 50 cavalry, to Khaloui. This detachment took there a park of 200 carriages, belonging to Bagration's corps, and made prisoners six officers, 200 cannoniers, 300 men attached to the train, and 800 fine artillery horses. Captain Vandois, finding himself fifteen leagues distant from the army, did not think it practicable to carry off this convoy, and burnt it. He has brought with him the horses and the prisoners.—On the 15th the Prince of Eckmuhl was at Igbonmen, Gen. Pajol was at Jachitsie, having posts on Swisloch. Bagration leaving this, renounced the idea of marching to Bobrunsk, and proceeded 15 leagues lower down on the side of Mozier.—On the 17th the Prince of Eckmuhl was at Golognino.—On the 15th General Grouchy was at Borisons. A party, which he sent to Star-Lepel, took

considerable magazines and two companies of miners, eight officers, and 200 men.—On the 18th this General was at Kokanow.—On the same day, at two in the morning, Gen. Baron Colbert entered Orcha, where he took possession of immense magazines of flour, oats, and clothing. He afterwards passed the Boristhenes, and proceeded in pursuit of a convoy of artillery.—Smolensk is in alarm. Every thing is removing to Moscow. An officer, sent by the Emperor to cause the evacuation of the magazines of Orcha, was quite astonished to find the place in the possession of the French. This officer was taken, with his dispatches.—While Bagration was briskly pursued in his retreat, anticipated in his projects, separated and removed from the main army, that army, commanded by the Emperor Alexander, retreated on the Dwina. On the 14th, General Sebastiani, following the rear-guard, cut down 500 Cossacks, and arrived at Dronia.—On the 13th, the Duke of Reggio advanced upon Dunaberg, burnt the fine barracks which the enemy had constructed there, took a plan of the works, burnt some magazines, and took 150 prisoners. After this diversion on the right, he marched on Dronia.—On the 15th the enemy, who was concentrated in his entrenched camp of Drissa, to the number of from 100 to 120,000 men, being informed that our light cavalry did not keep a strict watch, threw over a bridge, sent across 5,000 infantry and 5,000 cavalry, attacked General Sebastiani unexpectedly, drove him back one league, and caused him a loss of 100 killed, wounded, and prisoners, among whom were a Captain and a Sub-Lieutenant of the 11th Chasseurs. The General of Brigade, Saint Genier, who was mortally wounded, remained in the power of the enemy.—On the 16th, the Marshal Duke of Treviso, with a part of the foot guards, and the horse guards, and the light Bavarian cavalry, arrived at Glubokoe. The Viceroy arrived at Dockeehistie on the 17th. On the 18th, the Emperor removed his head-quarters to Gleubokoe. On the 20th, the Marshals Duke of Istria and Treviso were at Onchatsch, the Viceroy at Kamen, and the King of Naples at Disna.—On the 18th, the Russian army evacuated the entrenched camp of Drissa, defended by twelve palisadoed redoubts, united by a covered way, and extending 5,000 toises on the river. These works cost a year of labour. We have levelled them.—The immense magazines they contained were either burnt or thrown into

the water.—On the 19th, the Emperor Alexander was at Wilespk. On the same day Gen. Count Nansouty was opposite Polotsk.—On the 20th, the King of Naples passed the Dwina, and covered the right bank of the river with his cavalry.—All the preparations the enemy had made to defend the passage of the Dwina have been useless. The magazines he has been forming, at a great expense, for these three years past, have been entirely destroyed. The same has happened to his works, which, according to the reports of the people of the country, have cost the Russians in one year not less than 6,000 men. One can hardly guess on what ground they flattered themselves that they would be attacked in the encampments they had intrenched.—General Count Grouchy has reconnoitred Babinowitch and Slenno. On all sides we are marching upon the Oula. This river is joined by a canal to the Beresina, which runs into the Borysthenes. Thus we are masters of the communication from the Baltic to the Black Sea.—In his movements the enemy has been obliged to destroy his baggage, and to throw his artillery and arms into the river. All the Poles of his army avail themselves of his precipitate retreat to desert, and wait in the woods till the arrival of the French.—The number of the Poles who have deserted the Russian army may be calculated to amount at least to 20,000 men.—Marshal Duke of Belluno, with the 9th corps, is advancing upon the Vistula.—Marshal Duke of Castiglione has set out for Berlin, to take the command of the 11th corps.—The country between the Oula and the Dwina is very beautiful, and in the highest state of cultivation. We often meet with beautiful country seats and extensive convents. In the town of Gleubokoe alone there are two convents, which may contain each 1,200 sick.

*Ninth Bulletin of the Grand Army.
Bechenkoviski, July 25.*

The Emperor, taking the road of Outchatz, established, on the 23d, his head-quarters at Kamen. The Viceroy occupied, on the 22d, with his advanced guard, the bridge of Botscheiskovo. A reconnoissance of 200 horse, detached on Bechenkoviski, fell in with two squadrons of Russian hussars, and two of Cossacks, charged them, and took or killed a dozen men, of whom one was an officer. The Chef d'Escadron praises the conduct of Captains Rossi and

Ferreri.—On the 23d, at six o'clock in the morning, the Viceroy arrived at Bechenkoviski. At ten he passed the river, and threw a bridge over the Dwina. The enemy were inclined to dispute the passage; but his artillery was dismounted. Colonel Lacroix, Aid-de-camp of the Viceroy, had his thigh broken by a ball.—The Emperor arrived at Bechenkoviski on the 24th, at two o'clock in the afternoon. The division of cavalry of General Count Bruyeres, and the division of General Count St. Germain, were sent on the route of Witepsk. They reposed when they had performed half their march.—On the 20th, the Prince of Eckmuhl advanced upon Mohilow. The garrison, which consisted of 2,000 men, had the temerity to wish to defend it; but they were sabred by the light cavalry. On the 21st, 3,000 Cossacks assailed the advanced posts of the Prince of Eckmuhl; they were the advanced guard of Prince Bagration, arrived from Bobrunsk. A battalion of the 85th arrested this cloud of light cavalry, and drove it back to a considerable distance. Bagration appears to have availed himself of the little activity with which he was pursued, to advance upon Bobrunsk; and thence he returned against Mohilow.—We occupy Mohilow, Orcha, Disna, and Polotsk. We are marching on Witepsk, where, it appears, the Russian army is concentrated.—Herewith is a plan of the intrenched camp, and of the lines which the enemy had constructed before Drissa. It is a work which must have cost much time.

*Tenth Bulletin of the Grand Army.
Witepsk, July 31.*

The Emperor of Russia and the Grand Duke Constantine have quitted the army, and repaired to the capital. On the 17th, the Russian army left the intrenched camp of Drissa, and marched towards Polotsk and Witepsk. The Russian army, which was at Drissa, consisted of five corps-d'armée, each of two divisions, and of four divisions of cavalry. One corps d'armée, that of Prince Wittgenstein, remained for the purpose of covering St. Petersburg; the four other corps, having arrived on the 24th at Witepsk, crossed to the left bank of the Dwina. The corps of Ostermann, with a party of the cavalry of the Guards, put itself in motion at day-break of the 25th, and marched upon Ostrovno.

Battle of Ostrovno.

On the 25th of July, General Nansouty,

with the divisions Bruyere and St. Germain, and the 8th regiment of light infantry, encountered the enemy two leagues in advance of Ostrovno. The action commenced. Several charges of cavalry took place; all of them were in favour of the French. The light cavalry covered itself with glory. The King of Naples mentions the brigade Pire, composed of the 8th Hussars, and 16th Chasseurs, as having distinguished itself. The Russian cavalry, of which a part belonged to the Guards, was overthrown. The batteries which the enemy opened upon our cavalry were carried. The Russian infantry, who advanced to support their artillery, were broken and sabred by our light cavalry.—On the 26th, the Viceroy marching with the division Delzon, at the head of the columns, an obstinate action of the advanced guard, of from 15 to 20,000 men, took place a league beyond Ostrovno. The Russians were driven from their positions one after another. The woods were carried by the bayonet.—The King of Naples, and the Viceroy, mention with praise Generals Baron Delzon, Huard, and Roussel. The 8th light infantry, the 84th and 92d regiments of the line, and the 1st regiment of Croats, distinguished themselves.—General Roussel, a brave soldier, after being the whole day at the head of the battalions, was visiting the advanced posts at ten at night, when a sentinel took him for an enemy, fired upon him, and the ball shattered his skull. He ought to have died three hours sooner, on the field of battle, by the hands of the enemy.—On the 27th, at day-break, the Viceroy made the division Broussier file off in advance. The 18th regiment of light infantry, and the brigade of light cavalry, of the Baron de Pire, wheeled to the right. The division Broussier marched by the great road, and repaired a small bridge which the enemy had destroyed. At day-break, the enemy's rear-guard, consisting of 10,000 cavalry, was perceived drawn up *en echelon* on the plain; their right resting on the Dwina, and their left on a wood lined with infantry and artillery. General Count Broussier took post on an eminence with the 53d regiment, waiting till the whole of his division had passed the defile. Two companies of Voltigeurs had marched in advance, alone; they skirted the bank of the river, advancing towards that enormous mass of cavalry, which made a forward movement, and surrounded these two hundred men, who were thought to be lost, and who ought to have been so. It hap-

pened otherwise. They concentrated themselves with the greatest coolness, and remained during a whole hour hemmed in on all sides; having brought down more than 300 horsemen of the enemy, these two companies gave the French cavalry time to *debouche*.—The division Delzon defiled on the right. The King of Naples directed the wood and the enemy's batteries to be attacked. In less than an hour all the positions of the enemy were carried; and he was driven across the plain beyond a small river which enters the Dwina below Witepsk. The army took a position on the banks of this river, at the distance of a league from the town.—The enemy displayed in the plain 15,000 cavalry and 60,000 infantry. A battle was expected next day. The Russians boasted that they wished to give battle. The Emperor spent the remainder of the night in reconnoitring the field, and in making his dispositions for next day; but at day-break the Russian army was retreating in all directions towards Smolensk.—The Emperor was on an height very near the 200 Voltigeurs, who alone on the plain had attacked the right of the enemy's cavalry. Struck by their fine conduct, he sent to inquire what corps they belonged to. They answered, "*To the 9th; and three-fourths of us are lads of Paris.*" "Tell them," said the Emperor, "that they are brave fellows: they all deserve the cross!"—The fruits of the three actions of Ostrovno are 10 pieces of cannon of Russian manufacture taken, the cannoniers sabred: 20 caissons of ammunition; 1,500 prisoners; 5 or 6,000 Russians killed or wounded. Our loss amounts to 200 killed, 900 wounded, and about 50 prisoners.—The King of Naples bestows particular praise on Generals Bruyere, Pire, and Ornano, and on Colonel Radzivil, commandant of the 9th Polish lancers, an officer of singular intrepidity.—The red Hussars of the Russian guard have been cut up. They lost 400 men, many of whom are prisoners. The Russians had three Generals killed or wounded. A considerable number of Colonels and superior officers of their army remained on the field of battle.—On the 28th, at day-break, we entered Witepsk, a town of 30,000 inhabitants. It has 20 convents. We have found in it some magazines, particularly one of salt, valued at 15,000,000.—While the army was marching on Witepsk, the Prince of Eckmuhl was attacked at Mohilow.—Bagration passed the Berezina at Bobrunski, and

marched upon Novei-bickow. At day-break on the 23d, 3,000 Cossacks attacked the 3d regiment of chasseurs, and took 100 of them, among whom were the Colonel and four officers, all wounded. The *générale* was beat; an action commenced. The Russian General Sieverse, with two select divisions, began the attack. From eight in the morning till five in the afternoon the firing was kept up on a strip of wood, and at a bridge which the Russians wished to force. At five, the Prince of Eckmuhl caused three chosen battalions to advance, put himself at their head, overthrew the Russians, carried their positions, and pursued them for a league. The loss of the Russians is estimated at 3,000 killed and wounded, and 1,100 prisoners. We lost 700 killed and wounded. Bagration repulsed, retired upon Bickow, where he passed the Borysthènes, to advance towards Smolensk.—The battles of Mohilow and Ostrovno have been brilliant and honourable to our army. We never have had engaged more than the half of the force which the enemy presented, the ground not being suitable for greater developments.

*Eleventh Bulletin of the Grand Army.
Witepsk, Aug. 4.*

Intercepted letters from the camp of Bagration speak of the losses sustained by his corps in the battle of Mohilow, and of the number of desertions from which it has suffered on the route. Every Pole has remained in his country, so that this corps, which, including the Cossacks of Platow, amounted to 50,000 men, is now reduced to less than 30,000. It will join the grand army on the 7th or 8th of August, at Smolensk.—The following is the position occupied by the army on the 4th of August:—Head-quarters at Witepsk, with four bridges on the Dwina.—The 4th corps at Samai, occupying Veluj, Porietche, and Ousirath.—The King of Naples at Roudenu, with the three first corps of cavalry.—The first corps, commanded by Marshal the Prince of Eckmuhl, is at the mouth of the Beresina, on the Borysthènes, with two bridges over the last-mentioned river, and one bridge upon the Beresini, with double *teles-de-pont*.—The third corps, commanded by Marshal the Duke of Elchingen, is at Liozna.—The eighth corps, commanded by the Duke of Abrantes, is at Orcha, with two bridges and *teles-de-pont* upon the Borysthènes.—The 5th corps, commanded by Prince Poniatowski,

is at Mohilow, with two bridges and *teles-de-pont* upon the Borysthenes. The second corps, commanded by Marshal the Duke of Reggio, is upon the Drissa, advanced before Polotsk, upon the road to Sabei.—The Prince de Schwartzenberg is with his corps at Slonim.—The seventh corps is upon Rozana.—The fourth corps of cavalry, with a division of infantry, commanded by General Count Mauberg, is before Brobunsk and Mozier.—The tenth corps, commanded by the Duke of Tarentum, is before Dunaberg and Riga.—The ninth corps, commanded by the Duke of Belluno, is assembled at Tilsit.—The eleventh corps, commanded by the Duke of Castiglione, is at Stettin.—His Majesty has sent the army into quarters of refreshment. The heat is excessively greater than what it is in Italy. The thermometer is at 26 and 27 degrees. The nights even are warm.—General Skamenskoi, with two divisions of the corps of Bagration, having been cut off from that corps, and not being able to rejoin it, has entered Wolynhia, effected a junction with the division of recruits commanded by General Tormazow, and marched upon the 7th corps. He surprised and cut off the Saxon Brigadier-General Klengel, who had under his command an advanced guard of two battalions, and two squadrons of Prince Clement's regiment.—After a resistance of six hours' duration, the greater part of this advanced guard were killed or taken. General Count Regnier could not come up to their assistance sooner than two hours after the affair was over. Prince Schwartzenberg marched on the 30th of July to join General Regnier, and push the war with spirit against the enemy's divisions.—On the 19th, the Prussian General Grawert attacked the Russians at Eckau, in Courland, overthrew them, took 200 prisoners, and killed a considerable number. General Grawert much commends Major Stiern, who, at the head of the 1st regiment of Prussian Dragoons, took a prominent part in the affair. When General Grawert had effected a junction with General Kleist, he drove the enemy before him on the road to Riga, and invested the *tete-de-pont*.—On the 30th, the Viceroy sent to Welij a brigade of Italian light cavalry; two hundred men charged four battalions of the depot, who were on their route to Twor, broke them, took 400 prisoners, and 100 waggons loaded with

military stores.—On the 30th, the Aid-de-camp Traire, who had been sent forward with the Queen's regiment of Dragoons of the Royal Italian Guard, arrived at Ousvrath, took a Captain and 40 men prisoners, and possessed themselves of 200 carriages loaded with flour.—On the 30th, Marshal the Duke of Reggio marched from Polotsk upon Sebei. He met General Wittgenstein, whose corps had been reinforced by that of Prince Repnin. An engagement took place near the Castle of Jacobovo. The 26th regiment of light infantry obtained much glory.—The division Legrand gloriously bore up against the fire of the entire of the enemy's corps.—On the 31st, the enemy marched upon the Drissa, in order to attack the Duke of Reggio upon his flank as he marched. The Marshal took up a position with the Drissa in his front.—On the 1st of August the enemy were foolish enough to cross the Drissa, and to present themselves in battle array in front of the 2d corps. The Duke of Reggio allowed half their corps to cross, and as soon as he perceived about fifteen thousand men and fourteen pieces of cannon over, he unmasked a battery of forty pieces of cannon, which played upon them with grape shot for nearly an hour. At the same time the divisions Legrand and Verdier made a running charge with the bayonet, and drove the 15,000 Russians into the river. All their artillery and military chests taken, 300 prisoners, among whom were several officers, and one of General Wittgenstein, together with 3,500 men killed or wounded, are the result of this affair.—The affair of Drissa, those of Ostrovno and Mohilow, might have been in other wars called three battles. The Duke of Reggio praises much General Count Legrand, who is remarkably cool in the field.—He also highly applauds the conduct of the 26th light infantry, and the 56th of the line.—The Emperor of Russia has ordered levies of men in the two Governments of Witepsk and Mohilow, but before his Ukases could reach those provinces, we were masters of them. These measures consequently have produced nothing.—We have found at Witepsk proclamations issued by Prince Alexander of Wirtemberg, and we have learned that the people of Russia are amusing themselves, singing *Te Deum* on account of the victories obtained by the Russians.

ENGLISH LIBERTY OF THE PRESS,

As illustrated in the Prosecution and Punishment of

WILLIAM COBBETT.

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IN order that my countrymen and that the world may not be deceived, duped, and cheated upon this subject, I, WILLIAM COBBETT, of Botley, in Hampshire, put upon record the following facts; to wit: That, on the 24th June, 1809, the following article was published in a London news-paper, called the *COURIER*:—"The Mutiny amongst the *LO-CAL MILITIA*, which broke out at Ely, was *fortunately* suppressed on Wednesday by the *arrival* of four squadrons of the *GERMAN LEGION CAVALRY* from Bury, under the command of General Auckland. Five of the *ringleaders* were tried by a Court-Martial, and *sentenced to receive 500 lashes each*, part of which punishment they received on Wednesday, and a part was remitted. *A stoppage for their knapsacks* was the ground of the complaint that excited this mutinous spirit, which occasioned the men to surround their officers, and demand what they deemed their arrears. The first division of the German Legion halted yesterday at Newmarket on their return to Bury."—That, on the 1st July, 1809, I published, in the *Political Register*, an article censuring, in the strongest terms, these proceedings; that, for so doing, the Attorney General prosecuted, as seditious libellers, and by Ex-Officio Information, me, and also my printer, my publisher, and one of the principal retailers of the *Political Register*; that I was brought to trial on the 15th June, 1810, and was, by a Special Jury, that is to say, by 12 men out of 48 appointed by the Master of the Crown Office, found guilty; that, on the 20th of the same month, I was compelled to give bail for my appearance to receive judgment; and that, as I came up from Botley (to which place I had returned to my family and my farm on the evening of the 15th), a Tipstaff went down from London in order to seize me, personally; that, on the 9th of July, 1810, I, together with my printer, publisher, and the news-man, were brought into the Court of King's Bench to receive judgment; that the three former were sentenced to be imprisoned for some months in the King's Bench prison; that I was sentenced to be imprisoned for two years in Newgate, the great receptacle for malefactors, and the front of which is the scene of numerous hangings in the course of every year; that the part of the prison in which I was sentenced to be confined is sometimes inhabited by felons, that felons were actually in it at the time I entered it; that one man was taken out of it to be transported in about 48 hours after I was put into the same yard with him; and that it is the place of confinement for men guilty of unnatural crimes, of whom there are four in it at this time; that, besides this imprisonment, I was sentenced to pay a thousand pounds *TO THE KING*, and to give security for my good behaviour for seven years, myself in the sum of 3,000 pounds, and

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two sureties in the sum of 1,000 pounds each; that the whole of this sentence has been executed upon me, that I have been imprisoned the two years, have paid the thousand pounds *TO THE KING*, and have given the bail, Timothy Brown and Peter Walker, Esqrs. being my sureties; that the Attorney General was Sir Vicary Gibbs, the Judge who sat at the trial Lord Ellenborough, the four Judges who sat at passing sentence Ellenborough, Grose, Le Blanc, and Bailey; and that the jurors were, Thomas Rhodes of Hampstead Road, John Davis of Southampton Place, James Ellis of Tottenham Court Road, John Richards of Bayswater, Thomas Marsham of Baker Street, Robert Heathcote of High Street Marylebone, John Maud of York Place Marylebone, George Bagster of Church Terrace Pancras, Thomas Taylor of Red Lion Square, David Deane of St. John Street, William Palmer of Upper Street Islington, Henry Favre of Pall Mall; that the Prime Ministers during the time were Spencer Perceval, until he was shot by John Bellingham, and after that Robert B. Jenkinson, Earl of Liverpool; that the prosecution and sentence took place in the reign of King George the Third, and that, he having become insane during my imprisonment, the 1,000 pounds was paid to his son, the Prince Regent, in his behalf; that, during my imprisonment, I wrote and published 364 Essays and Letters upon political subjects; that, during the same time, I was visited by persons from 197 cities and towns, many of them as a sort of deputies from Societies or Clubs; that, at the expiration of my imprisonment, on the 9th of July, 1812, a great dinner was given in London for the purpose of receiving me, at which dinner upwards of 600 persons were present, and at which Sir Francis Burdett presided; that dinners and other parties were held on the same occasion in many other places in England; that, on my way home, I was received at Alton, the first town in Hampshire, with the ringing of the Church bells; that a respectable company met me and gave me a dinner at Winchester; that I was drawn from more than the distance of a mile into Botley by the people; that, upon my arrival in the village, I found all the people assembled to receive me; that I concluded the day by explaining to them the cause of my imprisonment, and by giving them clear notions respecting the flogging of the Local Militia-men at Ely, and respecting the employment of German Troops; and, finally, which is more than a compensation for my losses and all my sufferings, I am in perfect health and strength, and, though I must, for the sake of six children, feel the diminution that has been made in my property (thinking it right in me to decline the offer of a subscription), I have the consolation to see growing up three sons, upon whose hearts, I trust, all these facts will be engraven.

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, July 23, 1812.

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